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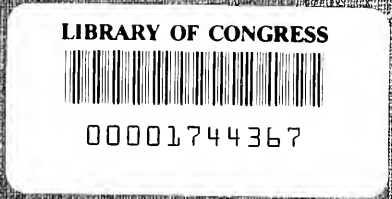

PREMIUM

QUESTIONS ON SLAVERY,

EACH ADMITTING OF A YES OR NO ANSWER;

ADDRESSED TO

THE EDITORS OF THE

New York Independent and New York Evangelist,

By SIDNEY E. MORSE,

LATELY EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK OBSERVER.

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PREMIUM QUESTIONS ON SLAVERY.

Some months since, the New York Evangelist put the question, "Is slavery right or wrong?" to the New York Observer, and called for "a clear and positive opinion." The New York Independent seconded the Evangelist by offering to pay into the treasury of the American Board of Foreign Missions the sum of two hundred dollars, if the New York Observer would transfer to its columns, and answer with a simple yes or no, each of the following eight questions, viz:

1. Is it wrong to sell human beings, guiltless of crime?
2. Is it wrong to hold human beings as property, subject to be bought and sold?
3. Is it wrong to separate, by force or law, husbands and wives, parents and children, when neither crime, nor vice, nor insanity in either of the parties calls for such separation?
4. Have slaves an equal right with other persons to marry according to their own choice, and should such marriage, when contracted, be held sacred and inviolable?
5. Has a slave woman an absolute right to her chastity, and is the master who violates that chastity guilty of a crime?
6. Have slaves a right to read the Bible, and is it a crime to forbid them to be taught to read?
7. Is the system of slavery as it exists in the Southern States a blessing to the country, which should be cherished and perpetuated by national legislation?
8. Is the system of slavery as by law established in the Southern States morally right?

It is easy to see why the editor of the New York Observer might have regarded the proposal to answer such questions by a simple yes or no, as unfair. The editors of the Evangelist, however, said, "The proposal seems to us a very fair one." As the New York Evangelist expressly, by the words here quoted, and the New York Independent impliedly, by asking the questions, both admit the fairness of all similar questions, the author of the following questions offers a premium of two hundred

dollars, to be paid into the treasury of the Southern Aid Society, if either the New York Independent or New York Evangelist will, prior to the 10th of November, transfer them to its columns, and answer each of them by a simple yes or no.

QUESTIONS.

1. Is slavery, and especially the system of slavery as by law established in the Southern States, morally wrong—a heinous sin in the sight of God?

2. Had our fathers a right to bind the people of the United States to support such a system of slavery, by delivering up to their masters the persons who escape from it into the free states?

3. Is it morally right for us, in this noon of the nineteenth century, by our votes, to call men to offices which they can not fill until they have taken a solemn oath to support a Constitution which gives such support to such a system of slavery?

4. If General Lafayette deserved applause for aiding our fathers in overthrowing the British government in this country, merely because it violated their rights by taxing them without their consent, would not John Brown and his companions have deserved applause if they had succeeded in overthrowing every government which supports such a system of slavery as is established by law in the Southern States?

5. If it can be shown that the Old Testament asserts that God directed the Jews, his chosen people, to buy and hold human beings as property, as their "possession," as "bondmen forever," as "an inheritance for their children" [Leviticus, xxv., 44–46], will it not prove either that the Old Testament is not from God, or else that a rigid system of perpetual slavery may, under some circumstances, be a part of the plan which infinite Love and Wisdom would devise for the government of a nation?

6. If it can be shown from the New Testament that a man, who was not only a slaveholder under one of the most rigid systems of slavery that ever existed, but an officer in the army of a tyrant, who employed that army to hold in subjection to his sole absolute will all the most enlightened countries and men on the globe, including the Jews, and our Lord himself; if it can be shown, I say, that this *slaveholder*, immediately after an open avowal that he held and exercised power under both of

these rigid systems of despotism, was not only not rebuked by Christ, but actually proclaimed by him to be the best man that he had ever seen, better than any of the Jews, not excepting the best of his chosen apostles [Luke, vii., 1–10]; if all this can be clearly shown, will it not prove either that Christ was not a sound moralist, or that to retain and exercise power under a rigid system of slavery may be perfectly consistent with the highest moral excellence in the man who does it?

The Rule of Right in Morals.

7. Is not that right in every science which is according to the rule or law of that science?

8. Is not that morally right which is according to the moral law?

9. Does not the New Testament teach us that the whole moral law is comprehended in the single word love?

10. Does not the Bible teach us that God is love—infinite love combined with infinite wisdom?

11. Does not love always seek the highest good?

12. Is not that which love requires, or which God requires, or which the highest good requires, always morally right?

13. To know what is morally right in any case, must not the first question be: What does God say? and if the Bible answers, is not that answer a final decision of the case, all man's feelings, desires, reasonings, and alleged intuitions to the contrary notwithstanding?

14. To know what is morally right in any important and doubtful case, if the Bible is silent, must we not, in a humble, docile, and obedient spirit, study carefully all the circumstances of the case, with earnest prayer for light from above, that we may know, and with a firm resolve that, when we know, we will, at every sacrifice, do what is right? [John, vii., 17; Luke, xiii., 24; James, i., 5.]

15. Is there any simpler or less laborious method of discovering what is morally right in such a case?

16. Has God given to man an inward light, or any thing akin to the instincts of the lower animals, to enable him to discern, intuitively and infallibly, what is morally right or morally wrong?

17. Has not God endowed every accountable human being

with a sense of moral obligation, a sense of obligation to do what is right, a sense which is pleasantly affected when the line of his actions or of his affections coincides with the line *which he believes* to be the line of right, and painfully affected when those lines do not coincide?

18. Does a man always do right when he does what he believes to be right? [Acts, xxvi., 9.]

19. Does not a man always do wrong when he does what he believes to be wrong? [Rom., xiv., 14, 23.]

20. To make a moral action or affection perfectly right, is it not necessary that the line of the action or affection should coincide both with the line of right and with the line which the man believes to be the line of right?

21. Is it not just in God to require that man, the only rational and accountable creature on this earth, should *labor and strive* to learn his duties to his Creator and to his fellow-men? [Luke, xiii., 24.]

22. If a man has ever violated his sense of moral obligation by doing what he believed to be wrong; or if, from indolence, pride, or wicked passion, he neglects to use the means of knowing his duty, may not God justly leave that man to believe a lie, to trust to fancied intuitions, and to suffer all the awful consequences of strong delusions? [2 Thess., ii., 11, 12.]

23. Did not John Brown profess to act on an impulse derived from his intuitive perception of the right of slaves to liberty?

24. Is there not reason to apprehend frightful scenes of bloodshed in this country, if God should leave any considerable portion of the people to act under the influence of such fancied intuitive moral perceptions?

The Bible Doctrine of Government.

25. Does the *Bible* any where assert that all men have a right to liberty; or that slavery is always wrong; or that slaveholders are sinners merely because they are slaveholders; or that the governments instituted among men have no just powers except those derived from the consent of the governed?

26. Does not the Bible say [Rom., xiii., 1], "the powers that be" (i. e., *all existing governments* which have power to enforce their laws, whether established with or without the consent of

the governed) "are ordained of God," i. e., derive from God their authority—their *right to rule?*

27. Is not this recognition of the authority of *the existing government* absolutely necessary to the good of men in large communities?

28. Could men long exist in large communities without some government?

29. Are not men by nature proud, selfish, depraved creatures, prone to malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another?

30. Do not such creatures require the restraints of government and law to keep them from destroying each other?

31. Is not some government so necessary to the good of men in society, that any government is better than no government?

32. Have not men in all ages fled to military despotism as a refuge from the horrors of anarchy?

33. Is not the denial of the authority *of the existing government* treated in all countries as the crime of crimes?

34. Does not this denial strike at the security of life, of property, and of all that men hold dear?

35. Can there be any government in a country but the existing government, if men have no power to overthrow it and establish another?

36. If the existing government is a military despotism, tyrannically administered, and men have no power to overthrow it and establish a better in its place, is it not their duty to acknowledge its authority, and to pay their money to support it?

37. Was it not to a people living under the government of Nero, an absolute despot and a cruel tyrant, that Paul said, "The powers that be are ordained of God?"

38. Did not Paul direct the Romans [Rom., xiii., 6, 7], and did not Christ direct the Jews [Mark, xii., 17] *to pay tribute* to absolute military despots, who were also cruel tyrants?

39. Does not common sense make a broad distinction between the right to rule and the right to rule tyrannically?

40. While the power of Nero was the gift of God, and while this power invested him by God's decree with the right to rule, was not every violation of the law of love in the exercise of his authority a sin against God?

41. May not a good man sometimes innocently hold and exercise authority under a tyrant?

42. Was not the best man that Christ met while He was on earth a centurion slaveholder in the army of Tiberius Cæsar? [Luke, vii., 9.]

43. Did not Tiberius Cæsar, by the army in which that centurion was an officer, hold all the Jews subject to his absolute will?

44. While the Jews hated Cæsar, and were oppressed by Cæsar, did not their own good require that Cæsar's government should be supported?

45. Could Cæsar's government have been supported without an army, and could the army have existed without officers?

46. Did not Christ clearly look upon the centurion as engaged in supporting government—an institution absolutely necessary to the good of the Jews?

47. Did not the centurion love the Jews? [Luke, vii., 5.]

48. Must it not have been a great comfort to the Jews to know that some of the officers in Cæsar's army loved them?

49. Would it not have made the Jews sad if Christ had told the centurion that he must resign his military commission?

50. Was it not a blessed thing for these Jews that the law of *Christ* did not require his resignation?

51. Did not the centurion love his slave?* [Luke, vii., 2.]

52. As Christ did not require the centurion to emancipate his slave, is it not reasonable to infer that love did not require it?

53. May it not have been a blessed thing for this poor slave that Christ was not an Abolitionist?

The Right and Duty of Private Judgment.

54. Does not the Bible regard all the property, talent, influence, or, in one word, all *the power of every man*, as "of God"—the gift of God?

55. Does not every man hold his power from God as *a trust*, to be used in love, not for his merely selfish good, but for the good of all, for the highest good?

56. Does not the Bible say that every man must "give account of himself to God?" [Rom., xiv., 12.]

57. Will not God require every man to account to Him for the use of all the power which He has given him?

58. Is it not the right and duty of every man to judge and decide for himself what God requires him to do?

* The Greek word here translated servant means *slave*.

59. Can any man transfer this duty from himself to the Pope, to a priest, to the Church, to the state, to his master, to the majority of the people, to public sentiment, to any body?

60. Is not every slave a man?

61. Must not every slave give account of himself to God? [Rom., xiv., 12.]

62. If a slave is a real Christian, will he not, from a sense of duty to God and to the community, be a quiet, faithful, submissive slave, with good-will doing service, even to a tyrannical master? [1 Pet., ii., 18–20; Eph., vi., 5, 7; Titus, ii., 9, 10; Col., iii., 22; 1 Tim., vi., 1, 2.]

63. Will not a Christian slave endeavor to obey all the lawful commands of his master?

64. If a master require a slave to do what God forbids him to do, has not the slave always power to refuse obedience?

65. If a master requires a Christian slave to do what God forbids him to do, will not the Christian slave respectfully but firmly decline to obey?

66. If death is the penalty of disobedience, will not the Christian slave choose to die? [Luke, xii., 4, 5.]

67. Is not the slave who chooses to die rather than to violate the law of God a man, in the highest and noblest sense of the word?

68. Is not such a slave "the Lord's freeman?" [1 Cor., vii., 22.]

69. Is he not free with a liberty, beyond all comparison, more joyous than any which human law can give?

70. Did not Christ and his apostles seek to make all men the Lord's freemen?

Right of Revolution.

71. When the Lord's freemen are sufficiently multiplied in any country suffering under a tyrannical government, may they not regard themselves as "the power ordained of God" to overthrow it, and to establish a better government in its place?

72. Does God require passive obedience and non-resistance to tyrants from men to whom *He has given power to overthrow their bad government and establish a better?*

73. Was not government instituted by God for *the good of the governed?* [Rom., xiii., 4.]

74. When the good of the governed clearly calls for a change in the administration, or in the form of a government, and God has given the power to make the change, is it not reasonable to infer that it is His will that the change should be made?

75. In interpreting God's laws, did not Christ teach us to regard the spirit rather than the letter?

76. Was not the Sabbath instituted by God for the good of man?

77. Does not the good of man require a rest from labor one day in seven?

78. In a rare case, in which a great good could be accomplished by labor on the Sabbath, did not Christ teach that labor was lawful, because in that case the *good* of man required it—because the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath? [Mark, ii., 27.]

79. Was not the American Revolution justifiable on the principles of the New Testament system of ethics?

Declaration of American Independence.

80. Is it not to be lamented that our fathers, in the Declaration of American Independence, did not justify their overthrow of British tyranny in this country on the Protestant Christian principle, of the right and duty of all men to use the power given them by God to change their form of government, whenever *the highest good*, taking every thing into the account, clearly requires the change?

81. Is not the assertion in the Declaration of American Independence, that *all men have a right to liberty*, interpreted by Abolitionists, and by superficial thinkers generally throughout Christendom, as implying that all slavery is morally wrong, and that every slaveholder who retains his fellow-man in bondage against his will is a violator of his sacred rights?

82. Were not many of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence themselves slaveholders, both before and after they signed it; and when they died, did they not leave their slaves to be held as property by their heirs and legatees?

83. If Thomas Jefferson, Charles Carroll, and the other slaveholders who signed the Declaration of American Independence, intended to assert the right of all men to liberty, in the Aboli-

tion sense of the assertion, were they not detestable hypocrites; making bitter complaints to the whole world of the King of Great Britain for violating their own rights in matters of comparatively trivial importance, while they were themselves persistently robbing poor helpless men, women, and children of their acknowledged, sacred, God-given, inalienable rights?

84. At the date of the Declaration of American Independence, did not the people of every state in the Union maintain by law a system of slavery within its own borders? And did not the people in each of these states, except Massachusetts, continue to maintain slavery by law within its own borders for many years after that date? And when the war for independence had terminated, did not the people of all the states in the Union, not excepting Massachusetts, in State Conventions called for the purpose, deliberately and solemnly ratify the Constitution of the United States, by which they bound themselves and their posterity to deliver up fugitive slaves, and thus to aid and abet in the support of slavery so long as there is a slave state or a slaveholder in the land?

85. If the signers and supporters of the Declaration of American Independence intended in that document to declare that every negro slave has a God-given, unqualified right to liberty, is it not strange that, after a long and bloody war to maintain that declaration, they should deliberately enter into a solemn covenant to re-enslave every negro who should escape from his master?

86. Is it not passing strange that, so far as is known, not a single member of any one of the thirteen State Conventions that ratified the Constitution of the United States ever protested against, or even objected to, the article requiring the surrender of the fugitive slave to his master?

87. Does not this fact strikingly illustrate the difference between the anti-slavery sentiment and feeling of the patriots of the American Revolution and that which prevails in New England at the present day?

88. To vindicate the consistency and integrity of the signers and supporters of the Declaration of American Independence, is it not necessary to regard the language in which that document asserts the right of man to liberty as *elliptical*—as intended to

assert only that every man ought to have all the liberty *which is consistent with the highest good of the community?*

89. Do we not interpret similar language as elliptical in other cases? When the Bible says [Col., iii., 20], "Children, obey your parents *in all things*," does it mean to direct children to steal, or murder when a parent commands it? Is not the ellipsis, *consistent with the law of God*, to be supplied? And is not the supply of a similar ellipsis in the Declaration of Independence necessary, not only to vindicate the consistency of its signers and supporters, but to reconcile the document with the Bible, and with the law of love?

90. Would it not be wrong, on Bible principles, in Southern slaveholders or Southern legislators, to give liberty to the slaves when, in their conscientious judgment, such liberty would be inconsistent with the good of the community?

Atheist or Abolition Principle of Liberty.

91. Have the *American* people ever been abandoned by God to the folly and wickedness of *practically asserting* the right of every negro slave to liberty, without regard to the probable effect of the liberty of the negro upon the welfare of the community?

92. Were not *the French people*, seventy years ago, under the teaching of infidel and atheist philosophers, the first great nation that attempted to carry into practice this proud doctrine of the right of all men to liberty?

93. Did not their experiment lead that most refined and polished, but God-defying people, through torrents of human blood, shed upon the scaffold in the "reign of terror," to a military despotism, under which, for twenty years, the blood of Frenchmen flowed without stint on all the battle-fields of Europe?

94. Did not the revival of this doctrine, of the right of all men to liberty, by infidel socialists in France, ten years ago, cause the overthrow of the French Republic, the loss of all the liberties which had then been recovered by the French people, and the re-establishment, by their own almost unanimous vote, of an absolute, hereditary, military despotism?

95. Was not the proclamation in St. Domingo of this doctrine of the right of all men to liberty followed by horrible massacres,

and bloody struggles for the mastery, between the two races on the island, ending also in military despotism?

96. Even in Jamaica, with all that had been done by the British government and British people, under the strong stimulus of national pride, to make the experiment successful, has not negro emancipation resulted in ruin to the agriculture, the commerce, and the industry generally of the island; and are not wise men in England now seriously apprehensive that, without efforts far transcending what would have been necessary under a gradually relaxing system of slavery, similar to that adopted in this country, the negroes will return to the heathenism and barbarism of their African ancestors?

97. Were not the slaveholders of Maryland, Virginia, and other border slave states of the American Union, who commenced the work of voluntarily emancipating their slaves on a large scale, more than sixty years ago, compelled to stop their sacrifices, as worse than useless, because the liberty of the negroes was found to be inconsistent with the highest good of the community?

98. Is not the system of ethics which adopts as a self-evident truth the unqualified right of every man to liberty, heaven-wide apart from that which is based on the law of love—on the duty of every man to use all the power which he possesses, however great or however acquired, in love—self-sacrificing love for the highest good?

99. Does not the first of these two systems place liberty—the liberty of every man, the will of every man, the will of every negro slave—on the throne of the universe, and command God and all his creatures to do it reverence?

100. Is not this deification of liberty, this apotheosis of the will of the negro, the most insulting of all violations of the first commandment of the decalogue?

Creed of the Christian Slaveholder.

101. Is there any thing in the mere relation of master and slave to prevent the master from loving the slave, or the slave from loving the master?

102. When the master is of a superior and the slave of an inferior race, and both are real Christians, is not the relation ordinarily an exceedingly endearing one?

103. Is not the relation of absolute dependence by an inferior being on his superior the very relation in which there is the truest and most tender love?

104. Is not this the relation of the babe to its mother?

105. Is not this the relation of all men to God?

106. Do not Christian slaveholders at the South, as truly as Northern or English Christians, regard every negro slave as a man and a brother, a fellow-immortal, capable of being fitted here, in this momentary life, to enjoy ineffable bliss, with God, in heaven, through endless ages; and do not these slaveholders cordially admit that it is their duty to treat such a creature with all the consideration due to his relationship, his capacities, and his destiny?

Kind Treatment of Southern Slaves.

107. Have not negro slaves always been treated, on the whole, more kindly and more wisely in the United States of America than in any other country in the world?

108. In the slave colonies of European powers, has not the treatment of negro slaves been such that fresh importations from Africa have been constantly necessary to supply the waste of life?

109. Does not Mr. Carey show, in his work on the slave-trade, that 1,700,000 negroes, landed from Africa in the British West Indies during the two centuries prior to the abolition of the slave-trade in 1808, were so reduced in number that only 660,000 remained to be emancipated in 1834; while 400,000 landed in the United States during the same period have multiplied, under the kind treatment of American masters, to more than 4,000,000?

110. Are not Southern masters and mistresses more willing, ordinarily, to sacrifice their own comfort and ease for the comfort and welfare of their negro slaves than English or New England masters and employers to make the same sacrifice for their servants and hired laborers?

Religious Instruction of Southern Slaves.

111. Are not Southern Christian slaveholders, ordinarily, more faithful in the religious instruction of their servants than English and Northern masters?

112. Do not the official records of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and other Protestant churches, show that nearly 400,000 negroes (or one fifth part of the whole adult negro population of our Southern States) are members of Protestant evangelical churches?

113. Is there a Protestant country on the globe in which the proportion of servants and laborers that give equal evidence of Christian piety is more than a fifth part of the adult population?

114. Is there any country on the globe in which the laboring classes have made greater *progress* in civilization during the last hundred years than the slaves in our Southern States?

Christianizing the Heathen.

115. Are not *Protestant Missions to the heathen* regarded in England and America as one of the great glories of our age?

116. Do not the latest statistics show that the number of converts from heathenism to Christianity in all the churches of the Protestant missionary stations in the world is less than 200,000?

117. Are there not now nearly twice that number of negroes in churches and under pastors supported by American slaveholders?

118. When the fathers of these negroes were landed at the South, were they not in the lowest state of heathenism and barbarism, worshipers of the devil, and victims of cruel and debasing superstitions?

119. Has not God, then, done more to multiply Christians from the heathen during the last century, through the instrumentality of American slaveholders, than through all other Protestant Christians in the world?

Abolition of the African Slave-trade—The Honor due, not to England, but America.

120. Is not the *abolition of the African slave-trade* regarded throughout Christendom, and especially in England, as "the greatest philanthropic movement of modern times?"

121. Does not the honor of originating that movement belong to America, and in America does it not belong pre-eminently to Virginia slaveholders?

122. Is not the article in the Constitution of the United States

giving Congress the power to abolish the slave-trade in 1808 the first provision ever made by any nation for the abolition of its African slave-trade?

123. Was not the Constitution of the United States, with its provision for the abolition of the African slave-trade, formed by a convention of the thirteen original states in 1787?

124. In 1787 were not all the maritime powers of Europe, with Great Britain at their head, actively engaged in the African slave-trade, with no remonstrances from any considerable number of their people?

125. In 1787 were not ten of the thirteen American States, and more than four fifths of the American people, ripe for the immediate abolition of the African slave-trade, the two Carolinas and Georgia being the only states that desired its continuance?

126. Did it not require the efforts of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and their associates, with all the power of the British press, exerted constantly for twenty years, to bring the British people up to the point of demanding from their Parliament in 1808 what the American people spontaneously and almost unanimously demanded in 1787?

In America the Honor of the Abolition of the Slave-trade due to Virginia.

127. And in America does not the honor of the most earnest and efficient action in this work of philanthropy belong to the slaveholders of *Virginia?*

128. In the Convention of 1787, was it not after delegates from *New England* had expressed their willingness to insert in the United States Constitution, if the Carolinas and Georgia should insist upon it, an article *withholding from Congress forever* the power to abolish the African slave-trade, that Virginia, by her earnestness and firmness, with the steady support of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, procured the article giving Congress the power to abolish it after a limited period.

129. If New England had voted with Virginia on the 25th of August, 1787, would not Congress have been invested with power to abolish the African slave-trade in 1800 instead of 1808?

130. Did not New England vote with the Carolinas and

Georgia to extend the slave-trade from 1800 to 1808, for the purpose of securing, in return, the votes of the Carolinas and Georgia for a navigation act which would give the carrying trade of all the slave states to New England ship-owners?

131. Was not the carrying trade of the slave states, which New England secured by the sacrifice of her anti-slavery principles, a great source, if not the great source, of the capital which is now invested in her railways, cotton-mills, woolen-mills, and all branches of her business?

132. Does not the census of the United States, and other official records, show that, between the years 1800 and 1808 (*i. e.* between the year in which the African slave-trade would have ceased, if New England had voted in the Convention of 1787 with Virginia, and the year to which it was extended by the union of New England with Georgia and the Carolinas), nearly, or quite, 100,000 negroes must have been imported into the Southern States?

133. Has not the whole negro population of the United States more than trebled by natural increase since the importation of negroes ceased in 1808?

134. Are there not, then, in our Southern States at this moment 300,000 negro slaves who are there in consequence of the vote of New England, in opposition to the vote of Virginia; and was not that vote of New England given immediately after a faithful representation by Virginia slaveholders of the great evils, moral and political, arising from an increase of the negro population of the country?

135. Is it not true, then, that to Virginia, the leading slave state of the American Union, the honor is due from the whole world of the earliest and most efficient action for the abolition of the African slave-trade?

136. And is not New England, the fountain-head of abolitionism in this country, justly chargeable with voting, from mercenary motives, for the prolongation of that trade for eight years, and thus adding hundreds of thousands to the present negro slave population of the South?

Limiting the Spread of Slavery over American Soil.

137. Is it not to Virginia, also, that we are indebted for the

most efficient action in limiting the extension of slavery on American soil?

138. Are not five of our largest and most populous free states, viz., Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, formed out of the territory which Virginia, more than seventy years ago, ceded to the Union?

139. In ceding that vast territory, might not Virginia, like Connecticut, have reserved a portion of the proceeds of the sale of the lands; and, if the reservation had been in proportion to that of Connecticut, would it not have added $100,000,000 or more to the treasury of Virginia?

140. While ceding both the right of sovereignty and the right of soil, might not Virginia, at least, have reserved for her own slaveholders the right of migrating to that territory with their slaves; and would not the reservation of such a right have added to the value of slave property remaining in Virginia?

141. Instead of this, did not the leading statesman of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, in 1784, propose to cut off the Virginia slaveholders, with all other slaveholders, from the right of carrying their slaves to that territory; and did not Virginia, by her vote for the ordinance of 1787, actually vote to cut them off, thus, by a surrender and sacrifice of her own interests, giving the whole land to the Union, and dedicating it forever to freedom?

Voluntary Emancipation of Slaves by Individuals.

142. After these efforts to stop the importation of negro slaves from Africa, and to prevent the extension of slavery to new territory at home, did not slaveholders of Virginia and the adjoining slave states begin the work of the voluntary emancipation of their own slaves on a large scale; and did not that work go on until it was stopped by the deep conviction of the emancipators that all their sacrifices were worse than useless; for that, in a population composed of whites and negroes in nearly equal numbers, and under all the circumstances of their situation in our slave states, the liberty of the negroes is not consistent with the highest good of either of the races, so long as they remain intermixed with each other in the same community?

143. Does not the United States census of 1850 show that, as

the fruits of the voluntary emancipation of their slaves by American slaveholders, there were then in our slave states 235,916 free blacks, whose value as slaves, at $500 each, would be nearly $120,000,000?

Colonization of Negroes in Africa.

144. After the failure of their experiment of voluntary emancipation, because of the frightful evils, foreseen as inevitable, of an intermixture of whites and free blacks in large numbers in the same country, did not the statesmen of Virginia anxiously labor to establish a home for emancipated negroes in Africa, where they might be really free, and might exhibit to the world what a community of negro freemen could be and do, when placed under the most favorable circumstances for developing all their capacities for good?

145. Did not these anxious labors end in founding *the Republic of Liberia in Africa, the only free country on the globe in which the negro rules?*

146. Has it not recently come to light (see C. F. Mercer's Address to the American Colonization Society, on January 18, 1853) that, long before the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1817, the Legislature of Virginia, in secret sessions, in the years 1800, 1801, 1804, and 1805, prepared the way for the establishment of a free negro republic?

147. Does not Mr. Mercer show clearly, in the address referred to above, that the Republic of Liberia is indebted for its prosperity and for its very existence to statesmen of Virginia?

148. Does he not show that Virginia statesmen framed, and by their assiduous efforts carried through Congress, the act of 1819, which authorized the return of Africans captured by our vessels to their native land *at the expense of the United States?*

149. Does he not show that under that act of 1819 more than $300,000 have been expended; and that without the first $100,000 of that sum "the colony of Liberia would never have existed?"

150. Is not the establishment of colonies of negro freemen on the African coast the wisest and surest mode of breaking up the slave-trade in Africa, and of spreading the light of civilization and Christianity over that benighted continent?

Recapitulation of the Action of American Slaveholders.

151. Considering what Virginia did in the Convention of 1787 for the abolition of the African slave-trade; what she did at the same time for limiting the extension of slavery on American soil; what she did for the establishment and support of the Republic of Liberia; what sacrifices her slaveholders made, in connection with slaveholders of the adjoining states, in the voluntary emancipation of their slaves; and what her slaveholders, in connection with American slaveholders generally, have done by kind treatment and Christian efforts for the temporal and spiritual welfare of their slaves, is it not true that Africa, and the negro race, and the cause of Christianizing the heathen, and the *true Christian anti-slavery cause*, are more deeply indebted to American slaveholders, and especially to the slaveholders of Virginia, than to all the rest of the world?

Effect of New England Abolitionism on Anti-slavery Action at the South.

152. Did not *anti*-slavery action of Southern slaveholders cease when the action of the New England Anti-slavery Society commenced, in 1833?

153. Did not the proclamation by the New England Anti-slavery Society of its untenable, unscriptural doctrine, "Slavery is morally wrong, a heinous sin in the sight of God," convert the action of the South from *anti*-slavery action into *pro*-slavery action?

154. Prior to the formation of the New England Anti-slavery Society in 1833, were there not anti-slavery societies scattered over Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee?

155. At an Abolition Convention (called *Abolition*, the name then giving no offense at the South) held in Philadelphia in 1827, was it not reported that there were then in the United States 130 anti-slavery societies, of which number 106 were in those six *slave* states?

156. Were not the Southern anti-slavery societies composed, to a great extent, of slaveholders, and did they not aim at ameliorating the condition of the slaves, and preparing the way for their ultimate emancipation and removal to Africa?

157. Did not the anti-slavery action of the South culminate in 1832, in the presentation of numerous memorials to the Virginia Legislature, praying for a law for the gradual abolition of slavery in that state, the emancipation of the negroes to be accompanied by their removal to Africa?

158. Did not Messrs. Randolph, Rives, M'Dowell, and other distinguished Virginia slaveholders strenuously advocate such a law?

159. After an earnest debate in the Virginia Legislature, continued through thirteen days, was not a resolution adopted, by a vote of 64 to 59, declaring it "inexpedient for the *present* Legislature to make any legislative enactment for the abolition of slavery," while a preamble, which, its mover said, was designed "to show to the world that we (the Virginians) look forward to the time when the abolition of slavery shall take place, and that *we will go on step by step to that great end*," was *approved* by a separate vote of 67 to 60?

160. In 1832, when Virginia slaveholders came so near enacting a law for the total abolition of slavery in that state, did not Virginia contain nearly a fourth part of all the slaves in the United States (469,757 out of 2,009,043)?

161. Was it not when anti-slavery feeling and anti-slavery action were in this hopeful state at the South, that the New England Anti-Slavery Society proclaimed its doctrine that all slavery is morally wrong—a heinous sin in the sight of God?

162. Does not the doctrine that slavery is morally wrong strike at the root of law, order, and the security of life and property in a slave state?

163. Is not the assertion that slavery is morally wrong a denial of the *authority* of the slaveholder—a denial of *his right to rule* his slave—a denial, not merely of his right to rule his slave tyrannically, but of *his right to rule him at all?*

164. Does not the slaveholder derive his authority, his right to rule his slave, from the law and government of the state; and does not the government of the state derive its authority from God?

165. Is not the right of the slaveholder to rule his slave as truly a God-given right as the right of the husband to rule his wife, or the right of the father to rule his child?

166. While the government, the slaveholder, the husband, and the father have, each of them, a God-given *right to rule*, is not every violation of the law of love by either of them in the exercise of the right morally wrong—a sin against God?

167. Has not the doctrine that slavery is morally wrong, a heinous sin in the sight of God, been extensively and successfully inculcated, during the last thirty years, in England and New England, and is it not now industriously taught in the Middle and Northwestern States of the American Union?

168. If this doctrine should corrupt the people of the Middle and Northwestern States as thoroughly as it has corrupted the people of Old England and New England, will there not then be truly an "irrepressible conflict" between the free states and the slave states of the American Union?

169. Can the free states and the slave states of this Union remain under one government after the people of the free states shall have embraced the doctrine that the authority which the law of the slave states gives to the slaveholder to rule his slave is null and void—a violation of the higher law of God, and entitled to no respect from the slave or the community?

170. Did not the proclamation of this pernicious doctrine at the North in 1833, and the attempt, by the circulation of tracts, to teach it to Southern slaves, lead at once to the abandonment of all the anti-slavery societies in the South, and to the enactment of laws restricting the right of teaching the slaves to read, and restricting, also, to some extent, the liberty of the slaves to meet together even for public worship?

171. Did not the feeling of insecurity of slave property on the border, which the spread of this doctrine created, lead also to the removal of thousands and tens of thousands of slaves from Virginia and the adjoining states, where they were worked moderately, and lived happily in the prospect of emancipation, to the hopeless slavery of the cotton and sugar plantations in the extreme South?

172. Did not the proclamation of this doctrine lead also Southern politicians to make strenuous efforts to add new territory to their section of the Union, and to extend slavery as far as possible over the old territories, that by the multiplication of slave states they might retain the control of the government of the

United States, as indispensable to the protection of their otherwise weak communities from the ruin and utter desolation apprehended from the prevalence of anti-slavery fanaticism in the North?

173. Was not Texas admitted into the Union in 1836 under a pledge of Congress to allow it to be divided at a future period into four or five slave states, and were not vast territories afterward conquered or purchased from Mexico, with the expectation of forming them also into slave states?

174. Do not all men at the South feel that, if the abolition doctrine prevails, all which they hold dear in this world, life, liberty, property, the prospects of their children, the very existence of their race in the country of their birth, are in imminent danger; and has not this danger sometimes made even good men there blind to the means to which politicians have resorted to avert it?

175. Have not these good men seen the press, the rostrum, and the pulpit in England and New England steadily engaged, for many years, in making American slavery and American slaveholders odious, and exciting the whole world to war against them; and have they not felt that they must be prepared to contend with the whole world, and to this end must strengthen themselves in every way to resist the general onslaught?

176. To quiet the well-grounded fears of good men at the South, and to revive the rational anti-slavery action of Southern Christian slaveholders, so long suspended, is it not of the first importance that the unscriptural abolition doctrine that slavery is a sin should every where be publicly disavowed, and its advocates boldly rebuked throughout the North, in the pulpit, by the press, on the platform, and at the polls?

177. If slavery is not morally wrong, if the Southern slaveholder has a God-given right to rule his slave, and is only bound to rule him in love, ought not the editors of the New York Evangelist and New York Independent, if they are true Christian anti-slavery men, and real American patriots, to be willing and anxious to say it and to proclaim it?

Evils of a mixed White and Negro Population.

178. Is not such a mixture of negroes with whites as exists

in the slave states of the American Union a great evil, where the climate admits of free white labor?

179. Would $200,000,000 tempt New England or New York, or any of our great Northwestern States, to exchange 1,000,000 of their free white laborers for 1,000,000 free negroes, the negroes to remain free, and intermixed with the whites as in the Southern States?

180. Would not the introduction of 1,000,000 free negroes into New England depreciate the value of property there to more than the amount of $200,000,000?

181. And would not the depreciation in the value of their property be one of the least of the evils that calculating New Englanders would anticipate from such a policy?

182. Would not the virtuous of both races, in a population so constituted, instinctively revolt at the idea of amalgamation?

183. Do not medical statistics show that the progeny of whites and negroes, when they intermarry, after a few generations ceases to be prolific?

184. Is not this fact to be interpreted as an indication of the will of God, and as binding as if it were a Bible prohibition of marriage between whites and negroes?

185. Did not the people of Massachusetts in 1705, when they regarded the will of God as binding upon men, forbid by statute white persons to contract marriage with negroes or mulattoes?

186. If extinction would be the final result of intermarriage between whites and negroes, ought not the virtuous of both races to discourage all such social intercourse as naturally leads to intermarriage?

187. If in Massachusetts the population should hereafter be composed of the two races, in nearly equal numbers, every where intermixed, but not living together on terms of social equality, would it be safe for them to live together on terms of political equality?

188. Are not men depraved creatures, easily excited to hate each other; and does not all history show that the antipathy of races leads to wars which end only in the extirpation or lasting subjugation of the weaker party?

189. However much a statesman may lament, and condemn as a sin, the antipathy of races, would he be a wise statesman,

would he be doing his duty to his country, if, in his plans of government, he should ignore the fact, and fail to guard against the dangers arising from it?

190. If a Congress of Christian statesmen were commissioned by God to form the political institutions of a large community, composed in nearly equal numbers of whites and negroes, would they not be compelled, for the safety of all concerned, to place them in the relation of the ruling and the subject race? and is not a well-regulated system of domestic slavery the mildest and most appropriate form of this relation?

191. If all slavery is morally wrong, is it not morally wrong, is it not a crime of the deepest dye, to bring men together in large communities under circumstances in which the good of all concerned will require that one half of the community shall hold the other half in slavery so long as they continue to occupy the country together?

192. Is not this the crime which England and New England committed against the Southern States of the American Union, when they obtruded upon those states a negro population, in opposition to the prayers and remonstrances of their wise and good men?

Responsibility of England for American Slavery.

193. Were not the wise and good men of the Southern States, from an early period in their colonial history, and, in the most important case, from the *very earliest* period, earnestly opposed to the introduction of a negro population into their country?

194. Did not Georgia, when a colony, include within her chartered limits the present States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, *i. e.*, the largest part of what is now the cotton-growing district of the United States?

195. Were not the majority of the first settlers of this vast country pious, persecuted Moravians from Southern Germany, and hardy, industrious Protestants from the Scottish Highlands?

196. Were not these Germans and Scotchmen invited by General Oglethorpe and his company to plant the colony of Georgia, under a charter in which the British government gave to the company, and to the colonists, a pledge that no slaves should be introduced into the colony?

197. Were not the words of the charter, "All and every person or persons who shall at any time hereafter inhabit or reside within our said province shall be, and are hereby declared to be, free?"

198. Were not these good men, the company and the colonists, avowedly opposed, on political grounds and on religious grounds, to the institution of slavery?

199. After these Germans and Scotchmen had removed to Georgia, and while they were uncomplainingly and successfully laboring with their own hands to support themselves, did not the British government, at the instance of British slave-traders, take away the charter and let in negro slaves?

200. When the Scotchmen and Germans (constituting at the time a majority of the colonists) first heard that a plan was on foot to introduce negro slaves into Georgia, did they not cry out against it? Did they not beg for themselves, for their wives, for their children, and for their distant posterity, that such a great wickedness might not be consummated?

201. Were not the ideas of a "negro population" and "perpetual slavery" inseparably associated in the minds of these good men? As their most powerful argument against the introduction of negroes into the colony, did they not say, "It is shocking to human nature that any race of mankind and their posterity should be sentenced to perpetual slavery?"

202. Did they not "laugh" at the assertion that white men can not cultivate the soil in Georgia; and, in refutation of it, did they not triumphantly appeal to the fact that they had themselves enjoyed health for years, while laboring with their own hands in the cultivation of rice, corn, etc.? And did they not say that their labors in the field were so successful that, after amply supplying their own wants, they had a large surplus of food fit for man which they were compelled to give to their cattle and hogs?

203. Heedless of the duty of a mother country to plant only good institutions in her infant colonies; heedless of her pledge to the trustees of Georgia; heedless of the prayers of the wisest and best men among the colonists; heedless of the policy of protecting the slave colony of South Carolina from the Spaniards by building up a free white labor colony between the Savannah Riv-

er and the Florida line; heedless of every thing but the profits of her slave-traders, *did not England, by taking away the charter of Georgia, doom the great cotton-growing district of the United States to be cultivated, perhaps forever, by negro slaves?*

204. If the British government had performed its promise to the first settlers of Georgia, the progenitors of the present cotton-planters of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, would not every man in the vast country between the Savannah River on the east and the Mississippi on the west now be a freeman?

205. What Georgia did at the very earliest period of her colonial history to oppose the introduction of a negro population into her territory, did not Virginia and the other states of the American Union do at a subsequent period?

206. Did not Virginia especially, again, and again, and again, beg the British government for permission to prohibit the importation of negroes into that colony?

207. Did not Thomas Jefferson, in the original draft of the Declaration of American Independence, assign as a justification of that declaration, that the King of Great Britain, from mercenary motives, had always refused to permit his American colonies to prohibit the African slave-trade?

208. Is not God a just God?

209. Is he not just in his dealings with communities of men as well as with individual men?

210. If one community of men wrongs another community, has not the community which does the wrong reason to fear the vengeance of God?

211. Did not Britain wrong America when, from mercenary motives, she introduced negro slaves into the colonies in opposition to the wishes of the best men among the colonists?

212. Was not the African slave-trade for about 200 years one of the most lucrative, if not the most lucrative, branch of British commerce?

213. During that long period did not England seek, in her treaties with other European powers, to secure to her merchants as large a share as possible of the enormous profits of the guilty traffic?

214. Between the years 1618 and 1672 were not four compa-

nies formed in England, and chartered by the British government with the privilege of dealing in slaves?

215. Did not the last of these, called the Royal African Company, embrace among its subscribers the King of England and many of the English nobility?

216. Does not Governor Seward, in his Introduction to the Natural History of New York, tell us that Queen Anne directed the colonial governor of New York "to take care that the Almighty be devoutly and duly served, according to the rights of the Church of England, and to give all possible encouragement to trade and traders, *particularly to the Royal African Company of England*, which company was expressly desired by the queen to take especial care that the colony should always have a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates?"

217. Did not Lord Brougham say, in his speech in the British House of Commons on the 16th of June, 1812, "By the treaty of Utrecht, what the execrations of ages have left inadequately censured, Great Britain was content to obtain, as the whole price of Ramillies and Blenheim, an additional share of the accursed slave-trade?"

218. Did not Britain barter the blood of her soldiers, spilt in obtaining the splendid victories under the Duke of Marlborough, for the privilege of supplying the markets of the Spanish colonies with 120,000 negro slaves?

219. Do not the profits of the African slave-trade lie at the foundation of the present immense wealth of Great Britain?

220. Did not a considerable portion of those profits accrue from slaves obtruded by her government on her helpless American colonies?

England not truly penitent for the Sin of forcing Slavery upon America.

221. Does not England now profess to be penitent for the wrong she did during the long period in which she was so zealously engaged in the slave-trade?

222. Does not every true penitent desire to do works meet for repentance?

223. Is it not meet that a truly penitent wrong-doer should make compensation, if he can, to those whom he has wronged?

224. Has the British *government* ever made, or offered to make, compensation to the American States for the wrong done them, while they were colonies, in obtruding upon them a negro population?

225. Have the *rich men of England*, who inherit the money their fathers received for the negroes obtruded upon America, ever proposed to *send back that money* to America?

226. Have the *good men of England*, have English "evangelical Christians" ever manifested Christian sympathy and sorrow for the American Christian slaveholder, under the trials and wrongs which he inherits as the fruits of the avarice of their fathers?

227. If British evangelical Christians had truly repented of the sin of their country in forcing slavery upon America, would they not, when, in 1846, they invited *all* evangelical Christians throughout the world to meet them in London to form a grand Evangelical Alliance—would they not have been impelled by that true Christian penitent feeling to send a special invitation to the American Christian slaveholder, that they might humble themselves before him, in the presence of the assembled representatives of the Christian world, and beg his forgiveness for the wrong done by England to him and to his country?

228. If such a course had been pursued, and a fair representative of American Christian slaveholders had been present, might he not have responded in language similar to that which Joseph addressed to his brethren, "Be ye not grieved nor angry with yourselves for this, for God has turned your wrong to us into the greatest of blessings to the poor negroes and to Africa?"

229. If such a course had been pursued by the British members of the Evangelical Alliance, would it not have bound together, with a true Christian bond, the hearts of all evangelical Christians in the two great Protestant countries of the world?

230. Instead of this, did not our British brethren, after sending their invitation to *all* evangelical Christians throughout the world; after the acceptance of that invitation by Americans of the different evangelical denominations, and after many of the Americans who accepted it were on their way across the Atlantic—did not our British "evangelical Christian" brethren pass a resolution declaring that *no slaveholder* was invited to the con-

ference; and was not this resolution followed by another—that when *Americans* presented themselves for admission to the conference their attention should be specially directed to this resolution of exclusion?

231. Did not the British members of the Evangelical Alliance profess to regard these resolutions as a *Christian* mode of expressing their sense of the sin of slaveholding, and the most appropriate form which they could devise of administering rebuke to Americans for continuing to tolerate slavery after Britain had abolished it in her colonies?

232. If, in the parable of the tares (Matt., xiii., 24–30, and 37–39), he who sowed the tares had truly repented of the wrong he did to the householder, would he have taken a *Christian* mode of expressing his sense of the wrong if he had invited the householder to a great entertainment, and there, in the presence of all his guests, had announced that he (the great Sower of tares) now hated tares, and to show all the world how much he hated them, he had resolved that no man who had tares in his field should sit at his table?

New York, October 27th, 1860.

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